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III.—“CHRISTE QUI LUX ES ET DIES”
AND ITS GERMAN, DUTCH, AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS.

A CONTRIBUTION TO HYMNOLGY.

PART II.

The Translations.

In Germany, the Netherlands, and England, the three countries in which our hymn has been traced, it has met with varying fortune. In none of the three have I found any trace in translation of types I and II; Germany has preserved III, III¹ and III²; England, III and III¹; and the Netherlands, with the Rhine districts, have developed a form of their own, which has lasted down to the present day and for which no corresponding version in the Latin has as yet been found, if indeed one existed. We shall consider the several translations as far as possible in their chronological order.

A. *Interlinear versions and those connected with them.*

I.—The earliest German translation, and indeed the only one of its time yet discovered, is found in the Junius MSS No. 25; it is an interlinear version of type III, belonging to the 8th or 9th century, and runs as follows¹:

Christ dû der leoht pist inti take
derâ naht finstrî intdechis
leohtes ioh leoht kala[u] pit pist
leoht sâligem predigônti.

pittimês uulho t[ruh]ttin
scirmî nahte ioh tage
si uns in dir rauua
stilla naht gip.

¹ S. No. 16; Gr. No. 16; W¹. I, No. 75. I have followed S. rather than Gr. or W¹., though they differ from him only in details.

nî suârêr slâf anapleste
 nec hostis¹ unsih untarchrisse
 noh imu kahenge
 unsih dir sculdi[ge] kasezze

oucûn sc[l]af intfâhên
 herza simbulum za dir uuachee
 zesema dîniu scirme
 scalchâ dea dih minnont

scirmanto unser sih
 lagôntê kadhiu
 stiurî dina scalchâ
 dea pluate archauftos

gihugî unser t[ruh]tîn
 in suârrem desamo lîchamin
 dû der pist scirmo derâ sêla
 az uuis uns t[ruh]tîn.

The language as well as the place² in which the MS containing this hymn originated show that it belonged to the Alemanian dialect of Old High German. While the Latin version to which this belongs seems to have found its way to England, I have met with no Anglo-Saxon version corresponding to it; nor, indeed, did this version have any other followers in German territory.

II.—The next translation in point of time is one found in the Vienna MS No. 2682, and placed by Kehrein, who here follows Hoffmann, in the 12th century.³ The version⁴ is an interlinear translation of type III¹.

Christ dv lieht bist vn tach
 der naht vinsten entekchest
 vn liehtes lieht dv glovbet wirst
 lieht daz saelige bredigende

Wir bitten heilich herre
 behvte vns in der naht
 si vns an dir rvwe
 rvweclich naht gib vns.

¹ On this line S. remarks: "Ueber *hostis* steht von neuer hand, wie es scheint von Junius geschrieben, *ni fiant*."

² V. S., p. 14. Braune, Ahd. Lesebuch, p. 164: "Die aus dem Kloster Murbach stammende hs.," etc.

³ K., Vorrede, p. xvii.

⁴ K., No. XI.

niht svaerre slaf anvalle
 noh der viant vns verzveche
 daz niht daz fleisc gehengend
 vns dir scvldic setze.

div ovgen slaf gevachen
 daz herre¹ ze dir alzit wache
 div zesewe din bedече
 die scalche die dich minnent.

scermaer vnser scouwe her
 die lagunden drukche
 behvte dine scalche
 die mit blvte gechovet hast.

gehvge vnser herre
 in svarem disem libe
 dv bist bescirmaer der sele
 zv wis vns herre.

III.—Between these two, resembling the latter rather than the former, stands the Anglo-Saxon interlinear of the Durham ritual.²

eala ó pu crist pu pe leoh eart 7 daeg
 neahte peostra pu ofer helast
 7 leohtes leoht pu eart gelyfed
 leoht eadig bodiende
 pe biddap ó eala pu halga drihten
 bewere us on pissere nyhte
 sy us on pe rest
 gedyfe nihte forgyf
 ꝥ ne hefi slaep onhreoese
 ꝥ ne feond us undercreope
 ꝥ ne flaesc him giðafi . . .³
 us pe scyldige gessette
 eagan slaep underfon
 heorte to ðe aefre wacige
 swiðra pin gescilde
 peowan pa ðe pe lufigað.
 bewerigend ure beseoh
 pa serwiendan ofprice
 begéon pine penas
 pa ðe mid blode pa gebohtest.
 gemunpu ure ó eala ðu drihten

¹ K. remarks "lies herze."

² S. Soc., p. 12.

³ Mr. Stevenson (S. Soc., p. 12) remarks that the Durham MS originally had *geðafigende* here, but that the termination is erased.

on swarran pisum lichoman
 pe ðe eart bewerigend sawle
 aetbeo pu us drihten
 gode faeder sy wuldor.¹

IV.—In connection with the 12th-century version, perhaps influenced by a similar translation and depending upon the same Latin original, should be mentioned the versified translation given by Wackernagel from the *Sigmundslust Hymarius* of 1524. This he considers older than a version found in the *Salus Anime*, Nuremberg, 1503, which latter also belongs here.² The former is certainly a very crude attempt at versification, yet it is not on that account alone to be accredited with greater age, for with equal reason we may assume it to have been the rude efforts of a later unpoetical though earnest scribe. Here also belongs the prose version found in a MS in Ghent.³ This latter translation bears the inscription "Dese ymen selmē lesen des aunts alsmē gaet slapen." The lines corresponding to st. 1 run as follows: "Criste du biste een licht ende dach, du ondeckeste die dunsternissen des nachtes, die sys ghelouet een lichte des liches predikende dat salighe licht." Hoffmann⁴ gives the first stanza of a German translation from the *Hortulus Animae* (Strasburg, 1500), which also seems to be connected with the interlinear. I have been able to find nothing more than the one stanza which he gives:

Christe der bist das liecht und tag
 der nachte vinsteren endecken mag,
 des liechtes lichte wirst glöblich geacht,
 verkundst das selig liecht mit macht.

B. So-called hymn of the Monk of Salzburg.

The next set in order of time is the one which has commonly been ascribed to the Monk Hermann⁵ of Salzburg. The hymn

¹ For a faulty prose A. S. version found in two MSS in Br. Museum, v. p. 187.

² W². III, No. 567.

³ Bibl. Gand. Cod. MS 206; Katal. No. 521; "in 8° velin belle écriture du XV^e siècle."

⁴ Hoff., p. 269, remarks: "In dieser bisher noch völlig unbekannten Übersetzung des lateinischen *Hortulus Animae* der erst in 1500 (Strazburg) erschien." Cf. Riederer, II, p. 158: "Herr Freytag beschreibt in *apparatu literaris*, To. II, p. 821, einen solchen lateinischen *ortulum anime* von 1500 zu Strazburg gedruckt."

⁵ For a discussion of the name of the monk, see Ampferer, whose conclusions I have accepted.

is found in four MSS¹: the Munich MS Cod. Germ. 715, A; a Vienna MS No. 2856, D, formerly called Cod. Lunaticensis 119; Vienna MS No. 2975, 18, fol. 159^b, F; and a German-Latin gloss of the 14th (?) century from Udine.²

A, which contains in all thirty-seven hymns, bears an inscription to the effect that its songs were composed by Hermann "mit sampt ainem laypriester herrn Martein." Aside from this general designation but one hymn, the fifth, is ascribed to a specific author.³ In regard to MS F we have Wackernagel's⁴ testimony: "Gedichten 1, 10, 13-18 [this last the Christe] den Mönch nicht als Verfasser anführt, . . . darin streitet sie gegen D." D contains two versions of the Christe. In giving the hymn Wackernagel⁵ mentions but one version, No. 64, MS D, p. 223; in the appendix, however, in describing the contents of the MS, he mentions both 64 and a second, unfinished hymn, No. 78, p. 242. Strangely enough that which he mentions in both places is not that which bears the superscription "des münichs." This is placed over No. 78 alone; indeed, in all of the MSS containing this hymn, this is the only copy that has such a heading, and upon it accordingly, in so far, the responsibility for the ascription depends.

We must then inquire into the character of the superscription and that of the copy to which it belongs. In regard to the superscription Kehrein⁶ remarks: "Die Ueberschriften der Lieder sind roth von älterer, die Worte *des münichs* schwarz von jüngerer Hand geschrieben." The completed hymn in MS D, No. 64, is the second of four, VIII-XI, not ascribed to the Monk by this later hand, while II-VII and XII-XXV,⁷ with one exception,⁸ have his name added to the part of the superscription which is written by the older hand. As for the character of this second versification, Wackernagel passes it over in the comparison which he makes of the versions of the three MSS, and Kehrein,⁹ though giving No. 78 in the order belonging to it in the MS, does not mention it by cross-reference in any of the three other versions which he gives. It is indeed incomplete, and while in general it does not differ materially from No. 64, yet the work-

¹ For a description of three of the MSS, see W². I, pp. 365-6, and K., Vorrede, pp. xvii-xix.

² V. Germ. 23, p. 30.

³ V. Altdeutsche Blätter, II, p. 327.

⁴ W². I, p. 370 g.

⁵ W². II, No. 563.

⁶ K., Vorrede, p. xix; cf. W². I, p. 368 e.

⁷ The second D. version is No. XXIII in K. and in the MS.

⁸ No. XVIII, "von unser frowen."

⁹ Religiöse Lieder.

manship seems ruder and leaves the impression of a trial piece which might later have been revamped by some other hand.

Doxologies often form a distinguishing feature of different hymns. In this version we shall find that the doxology more certainly than any other evidence obtainable confirms or refutes the claims of the Monk of Salzburg.

In the MS from Udine, as also in MSS D and F, the doxology has the following form¹:

Got vater immer glori² sey
und auch seim eingeporen sun
darzue dem geist des trost uns bei
sei ewiglichen³ in allen tun.

In MS A⁴ the last two lines are slightly different:

"Der heylig Geist der won uns pey
und sey allzeit in allem tun."

This, of course, is a more or less free rendering of the common Latin doxology "Deo pater sit gloria."

Of the thirty-two hymns⁵ aside from the Christe which are categorically assigned to the Monk by Wackernagel, only eight⁶ have any doxology at all, and of these eight one⁷ consists of only a single line and a second⁸ can be called a doxology only by an inexact use of that term. But taking the whole number we find that not one of them makes use of a Latin original even freely, but seem to be forms peculiar to the Monk. This is the more remarkable, in view of the fact that four⁹ of the hymns are translations from Latin originals.

On the ground of the doxology, accordingly, it would seem either that the Monk had here made a very decided departure from his usual manner of composing doxologies or else that this one had not been written by him. This, in connection with the fact that the burden of evidence in favor of the Monk rests upon

¹ V. Germ. 23, p. 30; K., No. XI, p. 152; W². II, No. 563.

² Udine MS, *ere*.

³ MS F, *ewigleich*.

⁴ W². II, No. 563.

⁵ Ibid., Nos. 547-553, 555, 557-560, 562, 568, 573, 575-584, 588-592. For all of these up to 588 W. gives MS authority for the authorship; just before No. 588 he remarks: "Die folgenden sechs Gedichte wird man dem Mönch von Salzburg zuschreiben dürfen, obschon dieselbe in keiner der hss. als Verfasser bezeichnet ist."

⁶ Ibid., Nos. 555, 559, 568, 588, 589-591, 593.

⁷ Ibid., No. 591.

⁸ Ibid., No. 590.

⁹ Ibid., Nos. 555, 559, 568, 590.

the designation of but one of the four MSS in which the hymn is found, and in that MS not upon the completed hymn, but upon the slightly different and unfinished one, leaves no good evidence upon which to assign it to him. Indeed with equal reason the versions might be assigned to the lay-priest Martin or to other collaborators.¹

The version of the hymn which Wackernagel² gives is the following:

Christe du pist liecht und der tag
du deckest ab dy finstern nacht,
Des liehtes liecht ye in dir lag,
der seldom liecht hat aus dir bracht.

Wir pitten dich, heyliger herr,
bewar uns heint in dieser nacht.
Gib rue in dir das uns icht werr
tue ruesam nacht in unser acht.

Uns won kain sweres slaffen zue
noch das der feint uns icht betor,
Das fleisch im kein verhenguen tue
davon wir dir sten schuldig vor.

Dy augen slaffens sein begreiff,
das hercz dir zu wach aller stund,
Dein zesem ze schermen icht entschleif
dy dich liebhaben in herczen grunt.

Anplikch uns unsers hailles kempfh,
und wiedertrieb der sündler gluett,
Hilf das er dy icht verdempfh
dy da erloset hat dein pluett.

Gedachtig pis, o herre mild,
an uns in diesem sweren leib,

¹ W², I, p. 368, himself remarks: "Die Münchener Hs. A. scheint ihm [the Monk] auf den ersten Blick vermöge der Erklärung über dem Register mehr Lieder [than the 24 (?) of the Vienna MS] zuzuweisen; allein das dies Register auch 3 Lieder von Oswald v. Wolkenstain aufführt, da es bei einigen Liedern der vorangegangenen Erklärung den Mönch doch noch besonders als Verfasser aufführt, und da jene Erklärung aussagt, dass der Laypriester Martein an den Liedern mitgearbeitet, so werden von denen welche die Wiener Hs. dem Mönch nicht ausdrücklich zuschreibt, manche von diesen Martein, andere vielleicht auch von unbekannten Verfassern herrühren; wer ist Muczlin No. 83?"

² W², II, No. 563.

Du pist allain der seele schilt,
nw won auf pey, von dir nicht treib.

Got vater immer glori sey
und auch seinem eingeporen sun,
Der heylig Geist der won uns pey
und sey allzeit in allem tun.¹

C.—We shall consider very briefly the small group of hymns which translates the added eighth stanza in the Latin "Ad te clamamus domine." Hoffmann² is authority for the statement that this translation remained for a long time in the hymn-books of the Roman Catholic Church, appearing in Leisentritt's, 1569, in the two hymn-books published in Cologne in 1610 and 1619, and in the great Corner Hymn-book of 1625. In all of these, however, it is given without the additional eighth stanza which particularly distinguishes this set from all the others. Although it is very freely rendered, this eight-stanza version seems on the whole to be connected with the 12th-century interlinear version. But it appears not to have had a very wide influence, and is chiefly interesting because of its seventh stanza. The numerous variations between the texts is shown by the notes.

Christe³ der du bist liecht und tag,
der nacht finstrin bedecken mag,⁴
Des liechtes liecht geloben wir dich,
daz selb liecht kündet offentlich.⁵

Wir bitten, hailiger herre dich,
beschiern uns hinnacht sicherlich,

¹ In 'Die Erlösung mit einer Auswahl geistlicher Dichtungen,' Quedlinburg u. Leipzig, 1858, No. 31, Karl Bartsch gives a version of the hymn taken from a paper MS of Nuremberg belonging to the 15th century. In some particulars it is like the above, and in others, the added verse excepted, it resembles the following version, to which Bartsch compares it.

² Hoff., p. 291. Hoffmann also mentions a Lutheran hymn-book of 1524 as containing this hymn, but possibly it too did not contain the added stanza.

³ From a Stuttgart MS of the 15th century; v. W². II, No. 565. Cf. with this the *Hortulus Animae*, Nurnberg, 1503, in Riederer, II, pp. 159-61; Hoff., No. 155; W². II, No. 566. In a Dutch *Hortulus Animae*, Antwerp, 1590, p. cxiii^b, there is a version which was probably taken from the Nurnberg H. A.

⁴ Hoff. W². II 566, die vinsternuss der nacht veriag.

⁵ Ibid., Wir glauben dich des liechtes schein, das du dich verkündet hast zu sein.

In dir syg uns rūw bewant.
ain grūbig nacht gib uns zehant.¹

Das uns kain schwärer schlaff berūr,
noch uns der finde itt bekūr,
Noch unser flaisch jm nit verheng,
das er uns kaine schuld abtreng.²

Die ougen stullen schlaff enpfahen,
das hertz dir allzyt wachen nachen,
Din rechte hand behüte schon
din diener die dich liebe han.³

Beschermer unser, schouwe, herr,
die nydigen vinde vertrybe ferr,
Verricht din diener all in gut,
die du hast koufft mit dinem blu

Bedenck unser, vil lieber herr,
in diesem unserm lybe schwer.
Das du der sele schirmer bist,
bysz uns by yetz und zū aller frist.⁴

Wir alle rūffen, herr, hin zū dir,
nit lasz uns nach unser begird;
Il bald, das du itt kommest zū spat
uns armen mit getrūwen rat.⁵

Gott vater dem sig lob und er,
und darzū sim ainigen sūn vill her,
Mit dem gaist, der ain tröster ist,
Yetz und ouch nun zū aller frist.⁶

All three of these groups, although they differ in many particulars as has been seen, have one thing in common—namely, that

¹ Hoff. W². II 566, wir bitten herre, dein heylige gūt, das sie uns dise nacht behūt; sey uns rūw in deiner macht, verleych uns ein ruwige nacht.

² Ibid., Das nit ein schwerer traum zūfall, noch uns begreyff des veindes schal, das nit das fleysch verwillig jm und uns schuldigen schaff deinen grym.

³ Ibid., Unser augen der schlaff begreyff, das hertz wach zu dir alle zeyt steyff; dein recht hand wōl beschirmen, herr, deyn diener die dich lieben sehr.

⁴ Ibid., Herr unser schyrmer sey und bleyb; alle widersacher von uns treyb; dein diener, herr, regier und tröst, die du hast mit deinem blūt erlöst.

⁵ Ibid., Bedenck an unss o gott und herr, in disem leyb der uns ist schwer, du der der *selen* schirmer bist, o herre uns bey won, Jhesu Christ.

⁶ Ibid., Wir schreyen zu dir, rūffend an, nit wollest unsz in nōtten lan; eyle baldt und nit zū lang verzeüch, dein hilff die wone unsz armen bey.

⁷ Ibid., Got vater dir sey lob und er, christ eingeporner sun und herr, und dem tröster geyst da mitte, nun und zū ewiger zeyte.

they all translate more or less exactly the third line of the first stanza of the Latin version which contains the words *crederis—geloubet*. For convenience' sake they may be classified as the Crederis group.

D. West German Group.

This group, which embraces the hymn not only in the German dialects but in those of the Netherlands as well, contains a set of versions differing in some striking particulars from any of the foregoing versions. The points of divergence are: 1. Group D has the rhyme-scheme *aa, bb*, instead of the *ab, ab* of the hymn ascribed to the Monk. The former scheme was used also in group C, which, however, preserved the Latin order of words. But here the Latin order is reversed, and instead of *lux et dies* we have *tag unde licht*. In consequence, the second line has undergone a complete change. 2. In st. 1, ll. 3, 4, this group conforms neither to any of the Crederis types nor yet to any of the other Latin types; 3. the several versions of this group have doxologies which differ from those found in any other group; 4. in st. 5 we have the most characteristic feature: here we find a line thrust in, for an explanation of which we must look to the circumstances of the time rather than to any variant Latin form. This line appears nowhere except in the versions of this group.

D may be further subdivided into a) the set that belongs to the North, and β) the set that belongs to the South. This necessary subdivision gives rise to three questions: 1) what is the relation of the several members of each set to one another? 2) what is the relation of the two sets? and 3) what was the dialect of the original version? In order to answer these questions, each set must first be studied in detail.

a) The examples which we have of this set appear no earlier than the 15th century, although it would seem that they may claim an earlier date of composition. The latest MS in which the type appears may be dated about the first third of the 16th century. The versions hitherto published were taken from

1) A Low German prayer-book¹ in a MS of the 15th century in the ducal library at Oldenburg.²

¹ Among the Roman Catholics this hymn, after the 15th century, is found chiefly in books of private devotion; among the Protestants, on the other hand, it was widely diffused in church hymn-books.

² V. W². II, No. 564.

2) The song-book of Anna of Cologne,¹ contained in Msc. Germ. 8°, 280, in the royal library in Berlin.

3) Msc. Germ. 8°, 185, fol. 208–210, in the same library.²

4) A song-book of the 15th–16th century found in Werden.³

5) A transcript of the song-book of Amalia of Cleves, fol. 14^a, made in 1825 and now in the public library of Frankfort a. M.; the original of this book has been lost sight of.⁴

To these five we may add

6) A hitherto unpublished version found in fol. 85^b–86^a of a manuscript prayer-book, a detailed description of which has been given in the introduction. The book is undoubtedly of West Flemish origin.

I.—*Comparison of the six versions.*

The relationship that exists between these versions must first be established, if possible, before the larger questions of the interdependence of sets α) and β), and of the original form of the hymn, can be properly discussed.

1.—W². II, No. 564.

Criste, du byst dach unde licht,
vor deme syk kan vorborghen⁵ nicht,
Du vaderliken lechtes glans,
du lerest den wech der warheyt ghantz.

Wy bydden, leve herre, dy,
in desser nacht behude my,
In dy so sy die rouwe myn,
de nacht de lât bevredet syn.

Vordryf de swere in slapes vryst,
dat uns nicht bedrighe des duvels lyst,
Unse vlesch in tuchten reyne sy,
so sta ik swarer schulde vry.

Nu slapet, oghen, sunder leyt,
nu wake, herte, in soticheyt,

¹ A description of this MS is given in Zfd. Ph. 21, p. 129.

² Hor. Belg., vol. X, No. 113.

³ Published by Fr. Jostes in Jhrb. f. niederdeutsche Sprachforschung, vol. XIV, p. 88, No. 22.

⁴ For description of song-book v. Zfd. Ph., vol. 22, p. 403.

⁵ W. changes this to *verbergen*.

Bescherme my godes vorder hant
unde thee my in der mynnen bant.

Beschermer aller crystenheit,
dyn hulde stark sy my bereyt,
Help my, here, ut aller not
dorch dyne hilghen uns wunden rôt.

Gedencke, here, der swaren tyd
de an deme lyve ghewangen lyt,
De selen de du hest ghelost
den ghyf, here, dynen trost.

Des vaders ere, des sonen kunst,
des hilghen gheystes gunst,
Hebbe ere, lof unde werdicheyt,
in der vormeten ewycheyt.

2.—Anna von Köln.

Cristus du bust dach en licht
voer dy en is verborgē niet
du vaderlicke liches glans
leer ons den wech der waerheit gans.

Wy biddē heilige here dy
in deser nacht behuede my
in dy soe sy die ruste m̃y
laet ons dese nacht in vrede syn.

Verdryf here des swaerē slaps vryst
dat ons niet en bedriege des duuels list
dan m̃y vleis kuys en reyne sy
soe staen wy in swaeren schulden vry.

Nu slaept ogē sond* leit
nv wakēt hert on stedicheit
nv bescherm ons gads recht* hant
en trecke ons in synre m̃yneren bāt

Beschermer alre cristenheit
dyn hulpe stercke sy ons bereyt
nv help ons got wt al onser noet
en drucke dyn heilige vyf wonden roet.

Gedencke here der swaere tyt
die an den lieue geuangē leget
die sielen die du heuest verloest
den gyf lieue here dyn ewige troest.

Des vaders kraft, des sonen kunst
 des heilige geestes gude gunst
 heb lof eer en weerdicheit
 in synre heiliger dreiuoldicheit
 ame.

3.—Horae Belgicae, X, No. 113.¹

Cryste du byste licht en dach,
 voer di sich nymant verbergē en mach
 een licht van licht men di verstaet
 een solich licht gi ons verclaert.

Ick bidde di, hilige here di,
 in deser nacht behoede my,
 in di soe sy die ruste myn,
 laet ons desen nacht in vredē syn!

Verdryft des swaren slapes vryst,
 geeft ons te ontgaē des viandes lyst,
 dat vleysche dat suver en reyne sy,
 so stae wy sware sorgen vry!

Nu slapet oghe sonder leyt,
 dat herte waket in stedicheit,
 bescherme ons godes rechter hant,
 vloest ons van d' sonden bant!

Beschermer alre kerstenheit,
 din hulpe sterck sy ons bereyt,
 nv helpet ons here vt alre noet
 doer din hilighe wyf wōden roet!

Ghedencke here der swaere tyt
 die in den liue geuangen licht,²
 der zielen die du heeste verloest,
 der geuet, lieue here, uwen ewigen troest.

Des vaders cracht, des sonen list,³
 des hiligen gheestes gued' gonst
 hebt lof en eer en weerdicheit
 door dyn onghemetē ewichheit!
 Amen.

¹ The published version has been compared and corrected by means of a transcript made directly from the MS by Prof. Collitz. Hoffmann expanded all contractions and made several changes in spelling.

² Hor. Belg. *leit*.

³ Ibid. *cunst*.

4.—Amalie van Cleve.

Christe du bÿst dach vnd dat lÿcht,
 vur dÿr en ÿs verborgen nÿcht,
 dÿns vaders licht vnd clair gelantz
 leer, vns den wech der wairheit gantz.

Wÿr bÿdden hÿllige here, dich
 jn dieser nacht, behuede mich
 ÿn dir so sy die raiste mÿn,
 lais vns diese nacht jn vreden sÿn.

Verdrÿff des swaren slaiffes frÿst,
 dat vns nÿet bedriege des vyantz bÿst,¹
 dat dat fleÿsch yn duegden reÿne seÿ,
 so staent wÿr van swaeren sÿnden frÿ.

Nu slaeffet ougen sonder leÿdt
 nÿ wach du hertz ÿn stedicheit,
 vnd beschyrme vns godes rechte hant;
 vnd verloiss vns van der sÿnden bandt.

Beschirmer aller Christenheit,
 dÿn hÿlpe starke sy vns bereÿt,
 nw helff vns here vÿs aller noÿt,
 durch dÿne hÿlge fÿnf wonden roit.

Gedenck lieff here der swaerer tÿzt,
 der pÿnen die an dÿm lÿffe vergangen ÿs,²
 desen die dw hais verloist,
 den gÿff lieff here dÿnen ewÿgen troist.

Des vaders krafft vnd sones kunst,
 des hÿlgen Geistes goide, gunst,
 nw haue loff ere und wirdichheit,
 der hoigeloyffe hÿlge Drÿueldicheit.
 Amen.

5.—Werden Song-book.

Christe du bust dach ende licht.
 voer dy en is verborgen niet,³
 du bust des vaders lichte glans,
 leer ons den wech daer waerheit gans.

¹ Read *lyst*.

² This curious rendering appears to have been perpetuated through a misunderstanding in Brandt's Danish Psalm-book, p. 116: "I dette suare Legeme vi nu gaa."

³ Jostes *nicht*.

Wy bidden, heilige here, dy,
in deser nacht behuede my,
yn dy so sy die roste myn,
laet ons dese nacht in vrede sijn.

Verdriff des swaren slapes vrist,
dat ons niet en bedrijge des viants list,
geeft, dat ons vleysch in tuchten reyne sy,
so staen wy van allen sunden vrij.

Nu slape, oghe, all sonder leit
end waecke, herte, yn stedicheit,
nu bescherm ons godes rechterhant
end behoede ons voer hoeftsunden bant.

Beschermer all der cristenheit,
dyn hulpe sterck sy ons bereit,
nu help ons here uut alre noit
doer dyne heilige vijf wonden roit.

Gedencke, here, der swaerre tijt
daer aen die ziell gevangen lijdt,
die zielen, die du heves verloost,
den gevet, heer, dynen ewigen troist.

6.—Flemish Prayer-book.

Criste die bist dach ende licht
voer dy canmen verberghen nicht
O vaderlike clare glätz
du weets den wech der waerheit gantz.

Wy bidden heilighe here di
in desen nacht behoede mi
in die so sy die ruste myn
laet mi desen nacht rustelyc syn.

Verdryft des swares slapes frist
dat mi niet en bedrieghe des viants list
dat vleys hem niet ghehoorsam sy
so stae ic wt allen sonden vry.

Nu slapet oghē sonder leit
nu waec du hert in ghestedicheit
nu bescherme godes rechter hand
dyn knecht die di moet syn wel bekant.

Beschermer alder cristenheit
dÿ sterc tzoe hulpe sy mi bereit

nu hulpt mi god wt alder noot
doer dÿ vyf heilighe wonden root.

Ghedenc lief heere der swarer tyt
die ons in die leden beuangenhe leyt
die zielen die du heests verloost
den ghif hen allen dinen troost

Des vaders lof, des sonens gunst
god heilighe gheest moet hebben lof
eñ eere ende eerwerdicheit
dorch syn heilighe driuoldicheit.

Amen.

1. *W². II, No. 564.*—This version is taken as the starting-point because, according to Wackernagel, it may be assigned a somewhat earlier MS date than can be positively asserted for the others. Does it, therefore, represent the original form of the others¹ or is it a translation from another dialect?

St. 1, l. 2: vor deme syk kan vorborghen nicht. Cf. An. v. K., W. S. B., and Am. v. Cl. *is verborgē, j̄s verborgen*, where the participle is correctly used. Either the scribe is entirely responsible for the mistake here or he may have had before him some such version as any of those cited and have made a slight change in it.

St. 1, ll. 3, 4: glans : ghantz. Lübben²: "Bemerkenswert ist die Verbindung *-ns* (m.h.d. *nz*). Sie findet sich in *dans, kans(e), krans, swans, glans, gans*; man sollte hier unverschobenes *t* erwarten; dass hier *s* statt *t* steht hat wohl darin seinen Grund dass sie ganz oder halb Fremdwörter sind . . . *Glans*³ (*splendendus*) ist ganz ungebräuchlich, ich weiss es nur einmal zu belegen; es ist deshalb kaum anzuführen, *gans* dagegen ist sehr üblich."⁴ Here, however, we find the word *glans*, which, on the authority of Lübben and the lexicon, we must conclude would not have been used by a Low-German composer.⁵ But it has been preserved here because of the rhyme, and that, too, in a characteristic form; while, on the other hand, the word which rhymes with

¹ V. *W². III, No. 1076.*

² L., §35.

³ Sch. L. give *glans*, adj. *glänzend*, but do not give the word as a substantive.

⁴ Sch. L., vol. II, p. 11, give but two examples of the word in this form; the others are all with *z*, as in this version.

⁵ In Old Saxon we have *glimo* 'glanz' and *liomo* 'strahl'; v. Gallee, Alts. Grammatik, §194.

it we find in the form most common in Low German—that is, with *z* and with a L.G. *t* thrust in.

St. 2, 1, 2: In dy so sy die rouwe myn. Cf. An. v. K., Hor. Belg., W. S. B., Fl. P. B. *ruste, roste*; Am. v. Cl. *raiste*. Both *rouwe*¹ and *reste*² (*raste, roste*) were known to the Low German as well as to the High German, while in the Netherlands there was but the one word *reste, ruste*; *rouwe* there meaning pain. Had the form *reste* been the original form, the L. German would have had no linguistic reason for changing; had it been *rouwe*, the retention of the word in the Netherlands would have been impossible without a change of meaning.

St. 2, 4: de nacht de lat in vreden syn. *de nacht de* is certainly not a form which a translator would use to give the meaning of *quietam noctem tribue*; furthermore, the tautology is awkward and senseless, and leads us to ask whether the scribe would have made such a blunder had he thoroughly understood the version from which he was copying.

St. 3, 1: verdryf de swere in slapes vryst. Schiller and Lübben³ give *swere*, fem.: *schwere, kummer*; the line, according to this, would read: 'remove heaviness in time of sleep.' This is a possible meaning, but when taken in connection with the following line, "Dat uns nicht bedreghe des duvels lyst," it immediately becomes clear that this meaning is not suitable. Comparing, further, the Latin "ne gravis somnus irruat," or some such form as An. v. K.: "verdriff, here, des swaerē slaps vryst," or Hor. Belg.: "verdrijft des swaren slapes vryst," we see how incorrect the L.G. is and how easily it might have arisen through a misreading or a misunderstanding; that is, *de swere in slapes* < *des swaren slapes*. But it could not have come from a version having *des swares slapes* or *swarer slaiffes*, as in Fl. P. B. or Am. v. Cl.

St. 4, 2: nu wake, hert, in soticheyt. All the other versions have *stedicheit* or *ghestedicheit*, which, unquestionably, gives a better meaning to the sentence and one more in accordance with the other petitions.

St. 4, 3: Bescherme my godes vorder hant. All the N. German versions down to modern times have the masculine form as opposed to the S. German feminine, which is the correct form. This northern usage, which is not recorded in Sch. L., does not seem peculiar to any locality. It should be remarked that this is

¹ Sch. L., vol. III, p. 515.

² Ibid., p. 469.

³ Ibid., vol. IV, p. 491.

the only version that has *vorder hant*, a perfectly possible word in O.D. and L Rh., where, however, we find *rechter hand*, corresponding to the S. Ger. *rechte hand*.

St. 4, 4: unde thee my in der mynnen bant. An. v. K. is the only other one of this group having a form anything like this: *Eñ trecke ons in synne mýnen bāt*. Cf. Hor. Belg., Am. v. Cl., and the S. Germ. versions: *verloost ons van der sonden bant*. W¹. 564 and An. v. K. give a meaning somewhat nearer to that of the Latin original. If we take into consideration the correspondence of Hor. Belg. and Am. v. Cl. with the S. German versions, it would seem that some such versions as theirs stood in the original. But it may well be that at least one of the N. Ger. scribes, who perhaps had the Latin hymn before him, changed this line to bring it nearer the Latin, at the same time preserving the rhyme of the German copy.

St. 5, 4: dorch dyne hilghen uns wunden rot. Cf. An. v. K.: *En drucke dyn heilige vyf wonden roet*; Hor. Belg.: *doer din hilighe wyf wōden roet*. W. S. B. and Fl. P. B. and the S. Ger. versions agree substantially with Hor. Belg. What was the cause of such a different form in W². 564? This form of adjuration, though not very frequent, is found in other documents, but not in any line that resembles W². 564. Moreover, this sentence as it stands scarcely offers a good meaning. While it is not clear how forms in *vyf*, *fünf* could have entered into versions which show no such scribal errors as are found in W². 564 unless they had been contained in the original, on the other hand, carelessness or a misreading on the part of the scribe of W². 564 might have caused the change in the latter case.

St. 3, 2: . . . duvels list, with which An. v. K. agrees. Cf. Hor. Belg.: . . . *viandes list*; so all the other N. and S. Ger. versions. Both *viand* and *duvel*, *fiant* and *teufel* were used interchangeably in M.H.G., O.D., and L.Rh., and had *duvel*—*teufel* stood in the original, there was no reason why it should not have been retained in these versions. On the contrary, the word *viand* was not in common use in L.Ger.,¹ which would be a reason for the *duvel* here.

From the mistakes made by the scribe of this version we may fairly conclude that he was copying from a dialect slightly different from his own and one not thoroughly understood by

¹Cf. Sch. L., vol. V, p. 250.

him, and that he did not hesitate to supply better known for less known words. As to the probable form of the original version, we learn that, presumably, it had the rhyme *glans : gans, viand* instead of *duvel*, and *vyf (fünf) wunden rot*.

2. *Anna von Köln*.—Bolte¹ tells us he surmises from the contents of the song-book in which our hymn is found that Anna v. Köln was a beguin or nun who lived in the Lower Rhine district about the beginning of the 16th century. The hymn occurs in fol. 133^a, and according to Bolte "die blätter 129^a–134^b sind der schrift nach der älteste bestandtheil der sammlung und bildeten offenbar im 15ten Jahrhundert noch den anfang eines besondern büchleins." The language corresponds to that of Cologne—that is, it is Low Rhenish or Middle Frankish, which on one side was influenced by the language of the Netherlands, on the other by Low German and to a certain extent also by High German.² Our effort will be to find out in this hymn, if possible, which had the greater influence; that is, from what source this version was derived.

St. 1, l. 1: *Cristus du bust dach eñ licht*. *bust* is a form which does not appear in the pure speech of the Netherlands, nor does it appear to be common in the dialect of Cologne³; on the other hand, it is the usual Low German form.

St. 1, 3, 4:

du vaderlicke lichtes glans
leer ons den wech der waerheit gans.

Here again we find the word *glans*, as in W³. II 564, and coupled with the very form *gans*, which we might have expected but did not find in the L.Ger. Though we have the authority of both dictionary and grammar to the effect that *glans* is a word which does not occur in L.Ger., yet we find it in a play on the Resurrection which, according to Mone,⁴ is of Low-Rhenish origin. For example, l. 455 f., *glans : dans*. *Gans* does not appear in

¹ Zfd. Ph. 21, p. 129. The book did not originally belong to An. v. K.

² High German influence is seen especially in the use of *z* for *t*; ex. in Köln. Mundart, in Die deutschen Mundarten, 1. Jahrgang, p. 176, 20; p. 177, *zit*; p. 178, *herz*. Braune, Zfd. Ph. IV, p. 287: "Das kölnisch-niederrheinisch ist eine niederdeutsche mundart deren tennes aber mit einigen bestimmten ausnahmen die hochdeutsche verschiebung erlitten haben."

³ Die dt. Mundarten, 1. Jahrgang, p. 182, *du bis*; p. 210, *du enbis*, etc.

⁴ Mone, Schauspiele des Mittelalters, II, p. 303.

rhyme, but is found in the midst of l. 402: "er wil dy gans bedrighen." In the same song-book from which this hymn is taken¹ are found, No. 13, l. 7 f., *gans* : *krans*. The presence of these words in L. Rh. is thus definitely proved by these examples taken in connection with others to be given later. The use of the imp. in the last line should be noticed as a stronger form and one nearer the Latin than is the L.Ger. form.

St. 2, 2: behuede my. The form in the Netherlands is *behoede*,² and here we have the L.Ger. form.

St. 4, 2: nu waket hert on stedicheit. An. v. K. may possibly have *on* for an older *an*, or the change may be analogous to O.D. *begonnen*—*beghinnem*.³ More remarkable is the use of the imp. plu. where the others—Hor. Belg. excepted—have the singular.⁴ The scribe in Hor. Belg. may have derived his form from such a one as An. v. K. through a recognition of the strained use of the plural in such a context.

St. 4, 3: nu bescherm ons gads recht⁵ hant. In *gads* we have a well-recognized L.Ger. form which in the 15th century stood side by side with *god*, while in the 16th the latter was almost entirely supplanted by the former. Gaffender⁶ has remarked that not only did the change of *o* to *a* spread all over Low Ger. territory with the exception of the southern portion, but "sie erscheint auch in dem nördlichen Teil des Reinprovinz, während das eigentliche Westfalen davon frei blieb."⁶ Cf. with this *got* in st. 5, 3, which is both a H. and a L. German form, but does not appear to be found in the Netherlands.⁷

St. 6, 1, 2:

tyt

die an dem lieue geuangē leget.

The contraction of *leit* < *leget* does not seem to have been a usual one either in the Netherland speech⁸ or in L.German.⁹ The

¹ Zfd. Ph. 21, p. 156.

² Frk., §75.

³ Ibid., §58.

⁴ Unless the verb is taken as part of an address to the Deity, with *hert* as accusative; but, on the other hand, God is throughout addressed in the singular.

⁵ Jhrb. 19, p. 132.

⁶ From an examination of several L.Ger. as well as L.Rh. texts it would seem that the forms in *a* were confined to the oblique cases.

⁷ Frk., §92: "Tonende Laute werden im Auslaut der Silbe oder wenn ein noch zur selben Silbe gehöriger Konsonant folgt, tonlos, daher Medien zu Tenues . . . Nur in *god* 'Gott' hat mann sich allgemein gescheut, eine alte hergebrachte Schreibung auszutasten."

⁸ Ibid., §93.

⁹ L., §40, p. 56.

scribe must have had before him a contracted form which was not familiar to him or which might have seemed ambiguous, and have put in its place, regardless of rhyme, the full form which he considered it to represent. But in doing so he made use of a form which is not found in L.Ger., for the double forms *liggen*, *leggen* appear only in O.D.

In its doxology An. v. K. stands between W². II 564 and Hor. Belg. on the one hand, and the Fl. P. B. on the other, inclining rather to the former.

We should judge from this examination that the scribe, a man of L.Rh., O.D. origin, as proved by the use of the word *leget*, had before him, if not a L.Ger. version, one, at least, belonging to a region farther north than Cologne and closer to W². 564 than to the other L.Rh., O.D. versions. This is shown not only by certain dialectic peculiarities, which might be accounted for otherwise in L.Rh., but also by turns of expression which are common to these two alone.

3. *Horae Belgicae*, 113.—In the first stanza of Hor. Belg. we find so complete a change from all the other versions with which it otherwise more or less perfectly agrees, that there is nothing to compare it with. It preserves in the first line the order of words found in the Latin texts and the German types II and III at the same time that it holds to the rhyme of the group to which it belongs. In order that it might do both, the form of the second line had to be changed, although the sense is preserved. The next two lines suffer a still greater change from the typical German version, but stand nearer the Latin. It would seem that the scribe had this stanza of the Latin hymn either before him or in his memory, and that he also had by him a copy of a N.Ger. version. Where the two most radically differed he changed his German copy to agree more nearly with the Latin. But as the further changes which he made are not in the direction of greater conformity to the Latin text, we may infer that he was not acquainted with more than the first stanza.

St. 1, 1: *biste*. This form with *i* was not common to the whole Netherlands, but was peculiar to Brabant and Holland.¹ The *e* was probably caused by assimilation of *bist de licht*.²

St. 3, 2. In *verdrijft* and *gheeft*, as well as in *helpet*, st. 5, 3, and in *ghevet*, st. 6, 4, we have the plu. imp. where the other

¹ V. Frk., §169.

² Ibid., §§111-12.

versions—Fl. P. B. excepted—use the sg. In so doing it shows a greater conformity to O.D. usage.¹

St. 3, 3: dat vleische dat suver eñ reyne sy. We have here not only the useless repetition of *dat—dat*, but also a form which accords only with that of An. v. K. *suver* and *kuys* (*cuusch*) are interchangeable words, and we have already seen this scribe use his own judgment within certain limits. It does not seem probable that two scribes working independently would have hit upon a form so nearly alike as these two did, and yet it does not look like a form from which the others might have been derived. It would rather appear that the basic form was that with which three of the N.Germ. and all of the S.Germ. versions accord, viz. “uns vlesch in tuchten reyne sy.” The three which do not agree with this—Hor. Belg., An. v. K., and Fl. P. B.—are more easily deducible from it than it from any of their forms.

St. 4, 4: v'loest ons van d' sonden bant. Here again Hor. Belg. stands with the L.Ger. versions.

St. 5, 1: Beschermmer alre kerstenheit. This is the only one of the Netherland versions having the form proper to the Netherlands; indeed, according to Frank it is the only form which is found in L.Frankish.² The reason probably is that of all the versions it seems to be most free from foreign influence.

St. 6, 1:

Ghedencke here der swaere tyt
die in den liue geuangen licht.

Hoffmann changed this last word to *leit* in order to better the rhyme, although, as *leyt*, st. 4, 1, is found rhyming with *stedicheit*, he cannot be said to have accomplished his purpose. Even if, with Braune,³ we assume a different pronunciation for *leit*, that would not afford a good rhyme. But this subject will be discussed further on.

St. 7. The first three lines of the doxology correspond exactly, the omission of one *ende* excepted, with the same lines in An. v. K. But it is to be observed that, though they correspond so closely, Hor. Belg. makes use of the Netherland forms of the words; for example, *cracht* and *gonst*, where An. v. K. uses almost exclusively the H. or L. German forms.

¹ Wackernagel, Bibliographie zur Geschichte des dt. Kirchenlieds, Frankfurt a. M., 1855, p. 498: “Die niederländische Sprache redet Gott in der zweiten Person Pluralis an.”

² Frk., §106.

³ Zfd. Ph. IV, p. 273; cf. Frk., §26.

We may infer from the foregoing examination—1st, that the copyist allowed himself a certain freedom in changing words and even lines; that the changes in the last two lines of the first stanza were probably caused by his recollection of the Latin lines; and that the change in the first two lines was brought about by this cause, working either with the fact that the form *nicht* was strange to him or that *neit* presented a difficulty in the way of rhyme. Probably it was the former. 2d, that in such forms as *kerstenheit*, *cracht*, *licht* (for *leget*) and *gonst*, Hor. Belg. stands equally apart from High and from Low German influence. This, taken in connection with the word *biste* and the way of addressing the Deity, is in favor of a place removed from the border as the home of the transcriber. It argues also for a copy which was, in part at least, uninfluenced by the border dialect.

4. *Amalie v. Cleve*.—This version has no peculiarities which may not as well be treated under the following heads.

5. *Werdener Song-book*.—Franz Jostes, who has given an account of this song-book,¹ informs us that it consists of three several parts, written by three several hands. "Der erste Teil, der geistliche Lieder enthält . . . ist von einer älteren Hand aufgezeichnet; die Schreibweise ist noch ganz die des XV. Jahrhunderts, wodurch jedoch nicht ausgeschlossen ist, dass die Niederschrift im Anfang des folgenden durch einen älteren Schreiber statt fand . . . Ob die vorliegende Sammlung in Werden veranstaltet ist, lässt sich nicht mit Bestimmtheit behaupten; so viel lässt sich nur sagen, dass der Sammler selbst von der westfälisch. ndrrh. Grenze geburtig war und zwar wol aus einer Gegend westlich von Werden. Er hat den Dialect nicht gleichmässig geändert; man sieht dass nicht alles einer Vorlage entnommen ist, manches mag auch aus dem Gedächtniss aufgezeichnet sein."

As might be expected from their probable starting-points, this version and that of An. v. K. stand very near together. For example, it has the same rhyme of *licht* : *niet*² in the first stanza, and *glans* : *gans*,³ both of which must be considered O.D., L.Rhen. Also in the use of the pronouns and of the imperatives it is like

¹ Jhrb. XIV (1889), p. 62. The hymn is No. 22.

² Jostes changes this to *nicht*.

³ In the Song-book there is another case of *gans* : *glans*, No. 2, st. 3.

An. v. K. In st. 4 the singular of the verb and noun, *nu slape, oghe*, is to be noticed. This is the only version that has such a form, and seems therefore to stand half-way between the other versions and that of Hor. Belg. with its *nu slapet oghe*. Such of the other characteristics as have not already been touched upon in the foregoing can best be treated in the next section.

This is the only version of all the set which has no doxology, though it is not necessarily older on that account. It seems, indeed, to represent a stage between An. v. K. and Hor. Belg., showing many of the Rhenish peculiarities of the former, and leading the way to some of the O.D. peculiarities of the latter.

6. *The Flemish Prayer-book*.—In the Prayer-book this hymn stands with the superscription *Ēn is goet sanons eer ghi gaet slape gelesē*. It seems to be the only hymn of the group bearing this inscription, which, in slightly differing forms, is found over the Ghent prose rendering of the hymn and over that attributed to the Monk of Salzburg.

St. 1, 1: *Christe die bist dach end licht*. The form *die* was used in the Netherlands for the relative pronoun as well as for the article and demonstrative pronoun.¹ It is an important element in estimating the relative place of this version, that it is the only one to make use of the pronoun corresponding to the Latin *qui*, instead of the relative and the personal pronoun, or the personal pronoun alone, which are found in the other versions. Hoffmann,² as has already been mentioned, gives a stanza from the Strasburg *Hortulus Animæ* of 1500 which begins “*Christe der bist liecht und tag*.” This translation, as far as may be judged from one stanza, belongs to Group II, and with the Fl. P. B. version makes up the two out of all the metrical versions—Anglo-Saxon, Dutch, and German—which have observed this stricter form of translation. But the *der* of the *Hortulus* may be explained by the seeming dependence of this version upon the interlinear translation of the 12th century; on the other hand, the *die* of the Fl. P. B. seems explicable on no other ground than that of a closer dependence upon a careful translation of the Latin, or of a revision by means of the Latin itself.

St. 1, 2:

licht.
voer dy canmen verborghen nicht.

¹ Frk., §229 b.

² Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenlieds, p. 269.

Cf. W². 564, *licht : nicht*; Am. v. Cl., *lycht : nycht*; An. v. K., W. S. B., *licht : niet*. Here we have two cases of *licht : niet*, and three of *licht : nicht*; the Hor. Belg., as will be remembered, having a form which cannot be compared with any of the above. What is the explanation of these different rhymes?

When we compare W². II 564 with the Fl. P. B., it might seem as if the L.German could stand sponsor for the original version. But the mistakes in the L.Ger., which would have been almost impossible had the scribe been copying from a version in his own dialect, but which "beim Uebersetzen aus einer Mundart in der andern um so häufiger vorkommt je verwandter die Mundarten sind,"¹ put this out of the question. To this we may add the further objection that in Fl. P. B., st. 5, 2, we find the word *tzoe* 'to,' which does not occur elsewhere in the Prayer-book, but points to this form in the copy. But both the forms *licht* and *nicht* are possible in H.Ger. and are found in Am. v. Cl., which was written at a time when Middle Frankish was greatly influenced by H.German. Did the hymn then originate in H.German territory?

Set β) of this group contains versions belonging to the South, and if the original version was in the H.Ger. dialect, we should expect these versions to be free from characteristics peculiar to the North. But such is not the case; on the contrary, we find throughout all the various copies of the set a rhyme which was impossible in H.Ger., and which betrays beyond question the N. Ger., or more exactly the L.Rh. or O.D. origin of these versions. In st. 2, 1. 2 we find *kraft : nacht*; but only in the O.D.-L.Rh. forms *kracht : nacht* would this have given a perfect rhyme, consequently we are forced to assume that H.Ger. was not the dialect of the original version. Where, then, did *licht : nicht* originate?

While in O.D. *ch* before *t* was usually preserved, it was dropped in the L.Rh. territory, particularly in the district in the immediate neighborhood of Cologne. This is especially true, according to Braune,² "nach langen vocalen und consonanten, *leit* (= mnl. leicht), *besat* (= hd. besucht), *sote*, u. s. w., aber mnl. *sochte*. In den denkmälern aus dem Kölnischen des XIII. jhrh. ist das *h* geschwunden. Hagen reimt ganz gewöhnlich *leit* (licht) : *neit*, *vorten* : *porten*." Braune gives seven examples of

¹ Mone, Schauspiele des M. A., II, p. 3.

² Zfd. Ph. IV, p. 280.

the former found in Veldeke's Eneide. But other examples of the dropping of *ch* before *t* are found in L.Rh.

In an Easter play published by Zacher,¹ which he calls 'Mittelniederländisch,' but concerning which Braune² remarks: "Das eben veröffentlichte 'mittelniederländische osterspiel' ist weder mittelnl. noch mastrichtisch, sondern trägt ganz die characteristica des kölnisch-nderrh. dialects," we find the following: l. 546 f., *gesait* (= O.D. *gesacht*) : *mait* (*macht*); l. 326 f., *nait* : *cracht*³; l. 1401 f., *brait* (*bracht*) : *nait*⁴; l. 1066, *nait* : *gesait*; l. 242 f., *reithe* : *geslete* (*geschlecht*); l. 376, *lithe* : *richte*.⁵ Mone,⁶ in a play of the Resurrection, which he asserts to have been written in the Rhine valley, perhaps not far from Trier, gives two examples: l. 1410 f., *hast* : *machst*; l. 1888 f., *schuch* : *zu*, which he says "können nur durch ausfall des *ch* reimen."

But while almost every L.Rh. poem gives some examples of this kind, which undoubtedly show the main tendency of that dialect, might we not expect that, in a dialect of such mixed forms, even in poems of undoubted L.Rh. or Cologne origin and not traceable to H.Ger. influences apart from those exerted on the dialect as a whole, we should find examples of the opposite kind as well, mixed, perhaps, with the more usual forms?

In the Katharinen Passie⁷ we find, ll. 61 f., 159 f., *nicht* : *pflicht*; l. 340, *licht* : *nicht*, beside l. 159, *niet* : *pflicht*; l. 69, *niet* : *strift*; l. 139 ff., *niet* : *niet* : *neit* : *niet*; l. 252, *iet* : *niet*. In Barbaren Passie,⁸ l. 145, *nicht* : *Gesicht*; l. 299, *niet* : *antlit*. In the Dorothean Passie,⁹ l. 96, *wicht* : *nicht*; l. 212, *pflichte* : *ichte*; l. 246, *nicht* : *geschicht*. In the 'Kranz der Gotlicher Liefden,'¹⁰ l. 85, *suicht* : *nicht*; l. 111, *nicht* : *sicht*; l. 73, *dreit* : *overlecht*. In the next poem, 'Anselmus Boich,'¹¹ of which Schade remarks "es ist ein niderrheinisches und zwar tief unten am niderrhein zu hause. Es hat schon eine starke färbung niederländisches an sich. Die reime sind um eben dieses schärferen gepräges willen für die kenntniss des niderrheinischen idioms lehrreicher als die der übrigen gedichte," we find *nicht* : *bericht*, ll. 279, 507, 599, 625, 859, 1008; *icht* : *bericht*, ll. 165, 769, 1157; *nicht* : *gericht*, l. 860;

¹ Zfd. A. II, p. 302 ff.

³ Zacher, in a note, remarks "*nacht* : *kracht*."

⁴ This Zacher did not emend.

⁶ Schauspiele d. M. A., II, p. 177.

⁸ Ibid., p. 52 ff.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 225 ff.

² Zfd. Ph. IV, p. 251.

⁵ Z. in a note *lihte* : *rihte*.

⁷ O. Schade, p. 104 ff.

⁹ Ibid., p. 6 ff.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 240 ff.

niet : *bericht*, l. 33; *niet* : *gescheit*, l. 761 (cf. *brief* : *dreif*, l. 1103). Within the sentence in this poem as in the others, *niet* is used exclusively. In the poem of St. Ursula,¹ while there are several examples of such rhymes as *geschiet* : *niet*, l. 337, *nicht* is not found. However, enough examples have been given to prove that in this portion of the L.Rh. territory *nicht* : *licht* were possible forms as well as *leit* : *neit*. We shall see further on how this dialect accords with the original.

St. 1, 3. 4: *glantz* : *gantz*. These words, which either could not be found in L.Ger. or were very unusual there, appear in the poems just mentioned. St. Ursula, l. 333, *glanz* : *hanz*; 'Der Kranz der Gotlicher Liefden,' l. 93, *kranz* : *danz*; l. 153, *ganz*. Further, in a play on the Resurrection² written on the Lower Rhine, we have, l. 455, *glans* : *dans*; and in l. 402, *er wil dy gans bedrighen*. In O.D., especially in the later periods of the language, *z* and *s* are used interchangeably; *ts* is also found for *s*, though usually in words from foreign sources.³ It is probable that, as we have *tzuo* for the usual O.D. *to* through the influence of the version that the copyist had before him, so here we have the same spelling through the same influence. The further changes in l. 3 seem explicable on no other ground than that of taste, for it does not approach nearer to the Latin forms, nor because of lack of similar forms, can we say that it is nearer the original.

St. 2, 1: Wy bidden heilighe here di. Only in one other place, st. 6, 2, where the singular would have given a form of expression not so good, does the writer of the version make use of any other than the first person singular. When this form became necessary because of the rhyme (st. 2, 2) he adheres to it, whereas all the other versions change from one to the other with seeming indifference.

St. 3, 3: dat vleys hem niet ghehoorsam sy. Cf. W². II 564 or Hor. Belg. Here, as in the first line, the Fl. P. B. seems to have followed a more careful copy or else it was corrected by the scribe from the Latin itself, *nec caro illi consentiat*.

St. 6, 1. 2:

Gedenc lief heere der swarer tyt
die ons in die leden bewangen ley.

Compare W². II 564, *tyd* : *lyt*; An. v. K., *tyt* : *leget*; W. S. B.,

¹ O. Sch., p. 164 ff.

² Mone, Schauspiel, p. 47 ff.

³ Frk., §126.

tijt : *lijdt*; Hor. Belg., *tyt* : *licht*; Am. v. Cl., *tzijt* : *vergangen j̄s*. We have here two very different words represented in the same rhyme: which was the original?

In W². 564 *lyt* may be a contraction for *lidet*¹ or *leget*,² in which latter case it would be short. But according to Mone,³ rhymes between long and short vowels were allowed even in the best times of Old German poetry. That just such a rhyme as this was not unknown in L. German may be seen from the following:

unde an dy al unse hulpe lyt;
help uns, jincvrouwe, an der tyd.⁴

Moreover, the contraction for *lidet* in L. Germ., as in O.D., is more frequently written *leed*, *lede*⁵; while, aside from this consideration, *lyt* < *liget* gives a better meaning here. Whatever the version before the scribe of An. v. K., there can be no question that he uses the word *legghen*, the contracted forms in the 3d pers. sg. seeming to be more frequent in later than in earlier L. Rh., where the two were used indiscriminately. We have already spoken of this scribe's sacrificing rhyme for the sake of clearness.

Turning to Hor. Belg. we find *licht* resting upon the same reading or misunderstanding as that found in An. v. K.—that is, that it must come from *ligghet*.⁶ The tendency of the Cologne L. Rh. to drop the *ch* before *t* has been already discussed. Judging by examples taken from poems which do not show any marks of having been written first in another dialect, it would seem that spelling, at least in the neighborhood of Cologne, did not always conform to pronunciation. For instance, there are a number of cases in the Sacred Poems already referred to of the rhyme *kraft* : *nacht*, and such like, where the spelling *kracht* was perfectly possible, and, moreover, represented the unvarying pronunciation; probably for that very reason the orthography made less difference.⁷ Cf. St. Ursula, l. 285, *kraft* : *nacht*; Marghareten Passie, l. 397, *macht* : *kraft*; Sibillen Boich,⁸ l. 133, *kraft* : *macht*; l. 463, *jaget* : *paßschaft*; Anselmus Boich, l. 961, *verzacht* : *maget*; Barbaren Passie, l. 195, *gesacht* : *maget*; l. 279,

¹ Lübben, §56; Jellinghaus, Westfälische Grammatik, §228.

² L., §54. On the other hand, v. L., §40; Jellinghaus, §254.

³ Mone, Schauspiele, II, p. 179.

⁴ V. Sch. L., vol. II, p. 691².

⁵ Ibid., p. 688.

⁶ Frk., §§93, 129.

⁷ Ibid., §41.

⁸ O. Sch., p. 164 ff.

maghet : jaget. From these examples, might we not assume that, regardless of its spelling, *licht* in Hor. Belg. rhymes well with *tyt*?¹

In O.D. the contraction for *lidet* was *liet*: Beatrijs,² l. 233, *ghescaet : leet*; Maerlant's *Disputacie*,³ l. 238, *leet : leet*; Karl,⁴ l. 106, *leet : briet*. On the other hand, *lighet* > *leit*.⁵ In regard to O.D. *ei*, of whatever origin, Braune has already been referred to under the discussion of Hor. Belg., and in neither place can we consider the rhyme a good one.

In W. S. B. we undoubtedly have *lijdt* < *lidet*⁶ from *liden* 'to suffer.' This not only rhymes perfectly with *tijdt*, but the two lines make much better sense than the other couplets which have been considered. The better meaning, however, does not lie in the verb alone; the rest of the line also is different: "daeran die ziell gewangen lijdt." Place beside this Am. v. Cl.: "der pynen die an dyn lyffe vergangen ys." How did the scribe come by such a form, which not only destroys the rhyme, but gives a very different line from those in the rest of the hymn? According to Frank,⁷ *liden* = *gehen*, *vorbeigehen* as well as *erdulden*, *leiden*, and it is to this word, or to the misunderstanding of a syncopated form of the word, that we must go back for so extraordinary a form as *vergangen ys*. Was *lijdt*, then, the original word of the parent version?

The S. Ger. versions have⁸:

Gedencke, herre, der schwerer zeyt
damit der leyb gefangen leyt.

There can be no serious question of the preterite here, which would be the tense if *leyt* < *liden*. The contraction for *leget* is *lit*, and neither Müller and Zarncke⁹ nor Lexer¹⁰ give any example of *lit*—*leit*. The 3d pers. sg. indic. of *ligen*, *liget*, seems, however, to have had a twofold development—on the one hand to *ligt*, and through it to Modern German *liegt*; on the other hand to *lit*, from which, by the analogy of *zit*—*zeit*, we may assume *lit*—*leit*, especially in a time of transition such as that in which this hymn was written in S. Germany. That the form was not carried down into Mod. Ger. is nothing against it.

¹ Frk., §41.

² Ibid., p. 188.

³ Ibid., p. 174.

⁴ Zfd. A. I, p. 97.

⁵ Frk., §110.

⁶ Cf. Katharinen Passie, l. 514 f.: *biz up den berch dae si lit : zit*.

⁷ Frk., Glossar, p. 247.

⁸ W¹, No. 270.

⁹ Müller u. Zarncke, Mhd. Wörterbuch.

¹⁰ Lexer, Mhd. Wörterbuch.

The weight of evidence then seems to be in favor of *leit*, *licht* < *ligghen* rather than *lijt* < *liden*. As evidence in the same direction may be taken the changes which were made in Am. v. Cl.; these changes also point to the conclusion that the line in W. S. B. was changed and does not represent the norm. Whether the changes were the independent efforts of two scribes to better the line, or whether Am. v. Cl. was based upon a version similar to that of W. S. B., the evidence is not sufficient to determine definitely, but the latter seems the more probable.

Which of the L.Rh. forms, *leit* or *licht*, represents the original, it is impossible to say. Such a rhyme as *zit* : *leit* is found in L.Rh. Speaking of Veldecke's dialect, Braune¹ remarks: "Bemerkenswert ist auch der reim *arbeit* : *zit*, Eneide, l. 91, 39, den man nicht ohne weiteres verwerfen darf. . . . Wir haben es eben hier mit einem ungenauen reime zwischen *ei* und *i* zu tun, deren laut sich ja sehr nahe stand. Auch gibt es dazu analogen aus dem ndrrh., nämlich Marienlieder 49, 34, *schorenstein* : *sin*, Schade, geistliche ged., s. 229, v. 21, *zit* : *leit*² und aus Karl M. (Bartsch, s. 226) mehrere beispiele." On the other hand, we have the rhyme in the 'Kranz der gotlicher Liefden,' l. 73, *dreit* : *overlecht*, and in Margareten Passie, l. 367, *deit* : *lieht*, of which Schade remarks: "d. h. *liet* od. *leit* mit stark betontem *e* gesprochen."³ Either form then would seem possible, but W. S. B. and Am. v. Cl. are more easily explained from the former than from the latter.

St. 7: the doxology. As has been seen in the discussion under Hor. Belg., the doxologies are so nearly alike that they must have been taken from the same version, and not each independently from the Latin. The doxology in the Fl. P. B., however, differs in one striking particular from that of all of the others in being partly unrhymed. In this respect it agrees with the older doxologies both in the Latin and in the vernacular, which were always unrhymed. It was not until a later time that an attempt was made to bring the doxology into harmony with the rhyme of the hymn to which it was attached. The fact that many versions of our hymn were current as early as the latter half of the 15th century, requires an early date for the version which was parent to the group—a date so early in North German literature, indeed,

¹ Zfd. Ph. IV, p. 276.

² This is in the 'Kranz.'

³ V. further Beatris, Frk., p. 188: "bets wel recht in alder tyt : wie vore Marien beelde lyt."

that the doxology probably followed the earlier custom of the Latin and the vernacular hymn-writers, for we cannot suppose that a scribe would go back from a rhymed to an unrhymed form, when the tendency of the time was toward the former. Whether the first step toward rhyming had already been taken, as seen in the last two lines of Fl. P. B., or whether that was left for this scribe, is hard to determine; but we must conclude that this doxology stands nearer than those of the other versions to that of the original.

This brings us to the conclusion that the Fl. P. B. version stands somewhat nearer to the original than the other versions of this group; that at times it corrected this version by means of the Latin; and that in his more careful and consistent use of the pronouns the scribe followed the vernacular version rather than the Latin, which would have occasioned greater license.

β) *South German versions.*

The different versions belonging to the S. German division of this group are taken from—

1st. Enchiridion¹ geystlicher gesenge vñ psalmen, gedruckt zu Erffurt durch Johannem Loeffelt, 1526.

2d. Enchiridion,² 1527.

3d. Marburger Gesangbuch,³ 1549.

4th. Enchiridion⁴ Geistliker Leder und Psalmen vom Jahre 1550.

Between the Enchiridion of 1527 and the Marburg hymn-book appeared a large number of Protestant hymn-books containing our hymn; for example, Johann Zwick's Hymn-book, 1528, 1540; the Augsburg Hymn-book, 1529; Luther's Hymn-book, Wittenberg, 1529,⁵ and many others. The version given here is the one with which the others of the set substantially agree.⁶

Christe, der du bist tag und licht,
vor dir ist verborgen nichts;
Du väterliche liechtes glantz
lern uns den weg der warheyt gantz.

¹ V. W². III 161.

² W¹., No. 270; Hoffmann, No. 156.

³ R., No. 13.

⁴ Geffcken, Die Hamburgischen Niedersächsischen Gesangbücher des XVI. Jhrs., No. 51.

⁵ This is mentioned by Koch, I, p. 250. It may have been the appearance of the hymn in two or three hymn-books published by Luther which led Daniel, I, p. 33, into the error of attributing a translation to him.

⁶ W¹., No. 270.

Wir bitten deyn götliche kraft,
 uns behüt, herr, in diser nacht;
 Bewar uns, herr, vor allem layd,
 Gott vater der barmhertzigkayt!

Vertreyb des schweren schlaffens frist,
 dass uns nit schad des feyndes list;
 Das fleysch in züchten reyne sey,
 so sein wir mancher sorgen frey.

So unser augen schlaffen schir,¹
 lasz unser hertze wachen dir,
 Beschirm uns gottes rechte hand
 und löst uns von der sünden band.

Beschirmer, herr, der Christenheyt!
 dein hilf starck sey uns bereyt,
 Hilff uns, Herr Gott, aus aller not
 durch dein heylige fünff wunden rot!

Gedenck, herre, der schweren zeyt,
 damit der leyb gefangen leyt;
 Die siele, die du hast erlost,
 der gib, herr Jhesu, deinen trost.

Gott vater sey lob, er und preysz,
 darzu seynem sune weisz,
 Des heylgen geystes gütigkeyt
 von nun an bisz in Ewigkeit.

Wackernagel,² following, as he asserts, the examples of the Brüdergesangbuch of 1566, ascribes this hymn to Wolfgang Meuslin, under whose name we find it, without remark, in Wackernagel's first collection. Hoffmann observes³: "Erst in Joh. Zwickschen G. B. v. 1540 unter dem Dichters namen: Wolfgang Meuzlin." Ranke⁴ gives the Constance Hymn-book of the same

¹ Ranke, p. 328: "Während V. Babst und bereits die früheren quellen (Erf. Ench. 1527, Zwick 1528, das Luthergesb. 1535 u. 1543, das Schuman'sche v. 1539, das Luther'sche v. 1540) die vierte strophe folgendermassen beginnen: *so unser augen schlaffen ein, las unser hertzen wachen dir*, verändert unser Herausgeber, um den Reim herzustellen: *las unser hertzen wachen fein*. Gewiss ist er damit glücklicher als die süddeutschen Herausgeber der Lieder, welche gleichfalls des Reimes wegen, jene in dieser Art lesen: *so unser augen schlaffen schier, lass unser hertze wachen dir*." Although Wackernagel gives his version as appearing in the Enchir. 1527, he does not note this emendation.

² W², II 564.

³ Hoffmann, p. 292.

⁴ Ranke, p. 327, under 'Bibliographische Anmerkungen.'

date as his authority for assigning the hymn to Meuzlin, but adds that the hymn itself first appeared in the Erfurt. Ench. of 1527. Julian¹ is authority for the statement that it appeared first in the Erf. Enchiridion of 1526. Koch² does not give the date of its first appearance, but he affirms that Meuslin was its author and that it was composed by him while he was a monk at Lixheim.

This hymn went for a long time, indeed is found even to-day, under the name of Meuslin. But Wackernagel, in the third vol. of his *Kirchenlied*,³ seems to retract his former opinion. There, in the hymns which he ascribes to Meuslin, he does not mention this one, yet he gives no reason for his change of opinion; but it was doubtless based upon the comparison of the S. German hymn and the L. Ger. version, which latter he considers the prototype of the former. Certainly in no sense could any one be said to have 'composed' this S. Ger. version, for it bears, even in the first couplet, evident marks of having been taken from one dialect into another. But, further, on linguistic grounds,⁴ as has been seen, this version seems as little to rest upon the version in the Oldenburg Prayer-book.

The version seems not only to have been taken from an L.Rh.-O.D. version, but from one standing nearer to the version represented by Hor. Belg. than to the others. Indeed, the hymn as found in the 1567 edition of Peter Datheen's translation of Marot's Psalms, seems to offer the intermediate form connecting the S. German and L.Rh.-O.D. versions together.⁵ This view is confirmed by the doxology found in Datheen's and the S. German hymn, which shows that the redaction evidently took place in the North, or more exactly in L.Rh. territory.

We may then deduce from the foregoing discussion (1) that the typical version of this group originated on the Rhine not far from Cologne and thence spread north and south; (2) that of the several Northern versions W². II 564 and An. v. K. are farthest removed from the source, the latter appearing to have come back into L.Rh. through the medium of the former; on the other

¹ Julian, p. 227².

² Koch, II, p. 92.

³ V. W², III, No. 161.

⁴ Cf. *feyndes list* of L.Rh.-O.D. and S. Ger. versions with *duvels list* of L. Germ., also *kraft: nacht*, which militates against a L.G. origin. St. 3, 4. S. Ger. *sorgen frey*, Hor. Belg. *sorghen vri*, W², 564, An. v. K. *schulden*. St. 4, 4, S. Ger. *sünden band*, H. Belg. *sonden band*, W², An. v. K. *minnen bant*.

⁵ This hymn is given in section F.

hand, in spite of some differences from the type, the hymn in the Fl. P. B. seems to represent it best, while Hor. Belg. and W. S. B. take an intermediate position, and Am. v. Cl. appears to depend upon the latter; (3) that the S. German version rests upon a L.Rh. version which is best represented by Hor. Belg. or by the later hymn in Datheen's collection.

E. *Origin of the expression "dorch dyn hilighen vyf wonden rot."*

This expression, as has been already remarked, is not an infrequent one; for example, in a Christmas song found in a MS of the 15th century, the last couplet of the hymn runs "sein heiligh fünf wunden, soln uns genädig sein." In a communion hymn of the pre-Reformation time, in one of the three stanzas which Hoffmann¹ considers much older than the body of the poem, we find "nu helf uns aus dem jamertal, herr durch dein heilig fünf wunden." In the Werden Song-book, hymn 9, st. 7, we have "Doer dijn heilige vijff wonden." Also in a Pilgrim Song² which is undoubtedly of L.Rh. origin³ is the stanza containing "mit seinen funf wunden also her." This is not in the form of an adjuration, but in a note to the same Hoffmann refers to another old Pilgrim Song which appeared in the Cologne Hymn-book of 1625, "mit sein heilig fünf wunden rot, behuet uns herre vorm schnellen tot." Here we find in the same territory to which Group D belongs the same form of expression. Lexer⁴ gives a reference to Wetzel's (13th century) St. Margereta as containing in l. 404 the expression "dorch din heilege fünf wunden," but a careful search through the same edition of the poem has failed to bring to light any such line, certainly not in line 404. Indeed, though this expression became frequent at a later time, I have not been able to find it in any hymn or poem earlier than the middle of the 14th century. In view of this I venture to put forth the following suggestions.

The second great pilgrimage of the Flagellants took place in the years 1348-50, occasioned this time in part by the great plague which was raging throughout Europe, especially in Germany. Probably in few other places did they arouse so much interest and have so large a following as in that city of many

¹ Hoff., p. 166.

² Ibid., p. 212, No. 98.

³ St. 1, 3. 4: *kraft: macht, leit: freud*, etc.

⁴ Lexer, Mhd. Wörterbuch, I, p. 566. The edition he refers to is Bartsch's, in Germanistischen Studien, I, 1872.

saints, Cologne. Although only fragments¹ have come down to us, it is well known that even the earlier Flagellants in the pilgrimage of 1260 used to sing hymns during the times of the daily scourging; but in the later pilgrimage singing seems to have assumed a much more important place in these ceremonies.

In the account given by Friedrich Closener of Strasburg, several of their songs occur, and in the last stanza of the second of these² we find "Jesu durch dine wunden rot, behuet uns vor dem gähen tot!" Hoffmann³ observes: "von diesen Liedern hat sich nur ein einziges vollständiges erhalten," and further in a note to the hymn⁴: "Darow entdeckte es im Osnabrückischen, es steht auf den Deckeln einer Pg. Hs. medicinischen Inhalts aus dem XIV. Jahrh. in 4°. Das Lied wie es dort erscheint, ist mittelniederländisch und zwar in der Mundart der östlichen Gegenden Hollands nach Westphalen zu. . . . Da es jetzt nicht mehr darauf ankommt einen wörtlichen Abdruck zu haben, so will ich einen hergestellten hochdeutschen Text . . . folgen lassen." In this H. German text we find again, l. 57, the same couplet that is found in the hymn in Closener's account. The acts of the Flagellants themselves would give peculiar point to such a petition, and the sympathy which the ideas represented by them met with from the people might well have caused some of their phrases to creep into the popular hymns.

If this explanation be accepted, it will clear up another point in which the hymns of Group D differ not only from the Latin, but from the other translations, and would supply a reason for the return of at least three of the group to a form nearer the Latin. In st. 4, 4 all but W². 564, An. v. K., and Fl. P. B. have a line similar to the following in Hor. Belg.: "verloest ons van der sonden bant." In times of terror and repentance like that near which, or at least not too far from it to be pervaded by its spirit, I assume this hymn to have originated, men were much more taken up with thoughts of God's wrath and his punishment for sin than of his mercy and reward for love. Very naturally, then, "famulos qui te diligunt" or "die diener die dich lieben han," became changed to a prayer for release from the bonds of deadly sin. This the Fl. P. B. with its greater regard for accuracy, and the original of W². II 564 and An. v. K., having the Latin hymn as a model, changed again to the original form.

¹ V. Hoffmann, p. 133 ff.

³ Ibid., p. 145, No. 62.

² Ibid., No. 57.

⁴ Ibid., p. 133.

When we consider the extraordinary hold which the sentiments of this half racial,¹ half socialistic, and wholly religious movement of the Flagellants had upon the masses of the people, it is not astonishing to find that the strains of their songs could so materially have influenced a hymn which for centuries had been dear to the popular heart. If, knowing the force of the movement, we are surprised that such direct influence was exerted upon so small a circle, I can but answer that the lines of this ancient hymn lent themselves with peculiar ease to a new adaptation; indeed, by the similarity of the initial words of the couplet affected to the closing words of the Flagellants' song, rather invited such a redaction. The quick response which the change met with throughout the several Old Dutch and German dialects is sufficient evidence not only of the wide extent of the popular emotions to which it appealed, but also of the eagerness with which the people embodied in a hymn of their own one of the chief petitions taken from hymns of the Flagellants.

F. Some minor translations of the Christe.

The number of translations in the three languages English, Dutch, and German, some with slight, others with more marked variations, is so very great that it would be impossible within the scope of this paper to even mention them all. In more modern times the hymn has appeared under many hardly recognizable paraphrases as well as in many real translations. I give here only the more interesting.

The following Anglo-Saxon version, somewhat different from the one given above, p. 154, is found in MS Cott. Vesp. D. XII, fol. 13-14, and MS Cott. Jul. A. VI, fol. 23^b-24. Both the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin of which it is an interlinear translation are written as prose, but for greater ease in comparison I have divided the hymn into lines and stanzas.

eala þu crist þu pe eart leoht 7 dæg
 pu oferwriht ðystra
 7 þu eart gelyfed leoht leohtes
 bodiende eadig leoht.

eala þu halga drihten we biddað
 bewera us on pissere nihte
 sy rest us on ðe
 forgif us gedefe nihte.

¹ V. Goebel, Am. Journ. of Philology, vol. VIII, p. 169 ff.

peron ne hreose swær slæp
 ne ne under creope se feond us
 ne ne gesette ure flæsc
 us sylfe scyldige þe gepafiende him

underfoð ure eagan slæp
 wacie ure heorte symle to ðe
 gescylde þin swyðra
 penas þa ðe lufiað þe.

eala ðu ure beweriend beheald
 7 ofðryc ða syrwiendan
 begyn þine penas
 þa þe ðu gebohtest mid pinum blode.

eala ðu drihten gemunðu ure
 in ðissum swæran lichaman
 eala drihten þu þe eart beweriend sawle
 æd beo ðu us.

The hymn found in W². III, No. 808, and ascribed under the date 1523 to Urbanus Regius, has a curious historical interest because it was made a vehicle for the most extreme sentiments of the Reformation. Both this hymn and the translation which appeared in the Augsburg Form 1530 under the name of Jacob Dachser appear to have been founded upon the German 12th-century interlinear.

Michael Weisse, a monk of Breslau, who very early in the preaching of Luther allied himself to the cause of the Reformation and joined the Bohemian Brotherhood, was the editor of the first German hymn-book in that congregation. Of the one hundred and fifty hymns of this *New Geseng buchlen*, 1531,¹ Weisse seems to have been the sole translator or author. The *Christe*,² which is one of them, is not among the twelve hymns taken from the Bohemian, nor does it seem to be connected with the Latin, but rather with some unidentified German translation of the hymn. Founded upon the *Christe* in all probability, but even freer in its treatment of it, is another evening hymn of Weisse's, *Die Sonne wirt mit jhren schein*. Still another hymn by the same writer, *Die Sonne wirt bald untergehen*, has the superscription which we have observed in connection with a

¹ For a description of the hymn-book v. Julian, p. 156 f.

² V. W². III, No. 384.

number of translations of the *Christe*, "Am abend ehe man schlaffen geht," but otherwise can hardly be said to show any resemblance to it.

For the well-known translation of Erasmus Alberus, "Christe, du bist der helle Tag," Wackernagel¹ gives no earlier date than the Hamburg Enchiridion of 1558; but according to Koch² it appeared in the church directory of Rigi in 1537. In regard to this translation, which has maintained itself until the present, Koch further remarks: "Die Verdeutschung Albers hat sich der Gemeinde empfohlen, . . . wenn bei dem lateinischen Vers 5, 'Defensor noster, adspice,' bemerkt wird, dass er oft als besonders Gebetlein gesungen wurde, so ist dies bei seiner Uebersetzung in v. 6, 7 nicht weniger der Fall. Das geläufigste Abendgebetlein in Würtemberger Lande zu Betglocke ist seit alten Tagen bis auf diese Stunde in vielen Familien eine Verbindung von *Ach bleib bei uns*, und diesen Versen *Befiel dem Engel* u. s. w."

Christe, du bist der helle tag,
für dir die nacht nicht bleiben mag,
Du leüchtest vns vom vater her
vnd bist des Liechtes Prediger.

Ach lieber Herr, behüt vns heint
in dise nacht fürn bösen feind
Vnd las vns in dir rügen fein
vnd vor dem Sathan sicher sein.

Ob schon die auggen schlaffein ein,
so las das hertz doch wacker sein.
Halt vber vns dein rechte hand,
das wir nicht fallen in sund vnd schand.

Wir bitten dich, Herr Jhesu Christ,
behüt vns für des Teufels list,
Der stets nach vnser seelen tracht,
das er an vns hab keine macht.

Sind wir doch dein ererbtes gut,
erworben durch dein heiliges blut,
Das war des ewigen Vaters Rath
als er vns dir geschenket hat.

Befiel dem Engel, das er kum
vnd vns bewach, dein eigenthum,

¹ W². III, No. 1385.

² Koch, VIII, p. 189 f.

Gib vns die liebe wechter zu,
das wir fürm Sathan haben rhu.

So schlaffen wir in namen dein,
die weil die Engel bey vns sein,
Du Heilige Treifaltigkeit,
Wir lobē dich in ewigkeit.

The hymn of Peter Datheen referred to above, which appeared first in the edition of 1567, is here given from the edition of 1688 printed at Dordrecht, *Het Avont Gebedt Christe qui lux es & Dies, Ofte na de wyse van den C. Psalmen.*

Christe die du bist dagh en licht
Voor dy is Heer verborgen nicht:
Dÿn Vaderlicke lichtes glantz
Leert ons den wegh der waerheyt gantsch.

Wy bidden dÿn Godtlicke kracht
Behoedt ons Heer in desen nacht;
Bewaert ons Heer voor alle leyt
Godt vader der barmhertigheyt.

Verdrÿft den swaren slaep, Heer Christ,
Dat ons niet schaed' des vyants list;
Dat 't vleesch in tuchten reyne zy,
Soo zÿn wy veler sorgen vry.

Soo ons' oogen slapen by ty,
Laet ons herte waken tot dy:
Beschermt ons Godes rechter hant,
En lost ons van der sonden bant.

Beschermt, Heer, al de Christenheyt,
Dÿn hulp altÿt zy ons bereyt:
Helpt ons, Heer Godt, uyt aller noot,
Door dÿn heyl'ge vijf wonden root.

Gedenckt, Heer, op den swaren tÿt,
Daer med' 't lÿf seer strength wert bestrÿt:
De ziele die gy hebt verlost
Die geeft, Heer Jesu, dÿnen troost.

Godt Vader zy lof, eer, en prÿs;
Daer toe oock sÿnen Sone wÿs;
Des Heyl'gen Geestes goedigheyt,
Van nu tot in der eeuwigheyt.

A curious translation of our hymn is found in 'A Compendium Book of Psalms and Spiritual Songs, commonly known as The Gude and Godlie Ballates, Edinburgh, 1578.' The hymn here given is taken from a reprint of the Compendium in 1868.

Christe qui luxes.

Christ, thow art the licht, bot & the day,
The mirknes of nicht thow puttis away;
We know thow art the verray licht,
Thy schynis to vs baith day and nicht.

O haly Lord, we the' beseik,
This nicht vs to defend and keip,
Thy rest and peace be with us all,
Lat neuer na euill thing vs befall.

Na heuy sleip, nor deidly sin,
Lat not our ennemeis vs ouercum,
Not zit our flesche giue na consent;
Grant vs our faultis to repent.

Lord, lat our eine sum sleip do take,
Our hartis all tyme on the' may waik,
Thy richt hand keip us from all euill,
Thy awin seruand that luffis the' weill.

Our defender, to the' we pray,
All ire and malice thow put vs fra,
Thy seruandis gouerne in the steid,
For quhais ransom thow did sair bleid.

Haue mynde on vs, thou Lord Jesu,
In this fals world that is vntrew;
Thow art defendar of our saule,
Lord, heir vs quhen we on the' call.

Gloir be to God, Father of micht,
And to Christ Jesus, his sone sa bricht,
The Haly Gaist that is sa fair,
Keip vs this nicht, and euer mair.

Among the many Modern English translations or paraphrases of our hymn may be mentioned the version by Prior Aylward in 'Annus Sanctus,' London and New York, 1884; that by Mrs. Charles in 'The Voice of the Christian Life in Song,' New York,

1865 (?); and also the translation by Dr. Samuel Duffield, in 'Latin Hymns and Their Writers,' New York, 1889. The one given below is the translation made by Rev. W. J. Copeland for 'Hymns Ancient and Modern,' London, 1867, No. 83.

O Christ who art the Light and Day,
Thy Beams chase night's dark shades away :
The very Light of Light Thou art,
Who dost that blessed Light impart.

All-Holy Lord, to Thee we bend,
Thy servants through the night defend,
And grant us calm repose in Thee,
A quiet night from perils free.

Let not dull sleep the soul oppress,
Nor secret foe the heart possess,
Nor Satan's wiles the flesh allure,
And make us in Thy Sight impure.

Light slumber let our eyelids take,
The heart to Thee be still awake ;
And Thy Right Hand protection be
To those who love and trust in Thee.

O Lord, our strong Defence, be nigh !
Bid all the powers of darkness fly ;
Preserve and watch o'er us for good,
Whom Thou hast purchased with Thy Blood.

Remember us, dear Lord, we pray,
Whilst burdened in the flesh we stay ;
Thou only canst the soul defend ;
Be with us, Saviour, to the end.

Blest Three in One and One in Three,
Almighty God, we pray to Thee
That Thou wouldst now vouchsafe to bless
Our fast with fruits of righteousness.

DOROTHY WILBERFORCE LYON.